

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 /011 R

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DRAFTED BY: IO: LCAVANAUGH

5/18/73 22468

APPROVED BY: IO: MFHERZ

S/ S- O: SEFRY

NEA/ CYP: GCHRISTY

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R 190128 Z MAY 73

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

S E C R E T STATE 091148

EXDIS

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION AMMAN, BEIRUT, CAIRO, TEL AVIV, MOSCOW,
JIDDA, KUWAIT, ROME, CANBERRA, VIENNA, CONAKRY, JAKARTA,
NEW DELHI, NAIROBI, LIMA, PANAMA, KHARTOUM, BELGRADE,
MAY 17, REPEATED TO YOU:

QUOTE

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FOLL SENT ACTION USUN INFO LONDON PARIS FROM SECSTATE 12 MAY 73
REPEATED TO YOU QUOTE

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E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: UNSC, XF

SUBJECT: GUIDANCE FOR SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING ON MIDDLE
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EAST

FOR AMBASSADOR SCALI FROM SECRETARY

1. AS YOU KNOW FROM YOUR BRIEFINGS HERE IN THE DEPARTMENT AND OUR DISCUSSION IN NEW YORK WE REGRET THAT EGYPTIANS ARE ONCE AGAIN SEEKING TO INVOLVE SC AND MAJOR POWERS IN MIDDLE EASTERN SITUATION. THIS REFLECTS MORE OF THE UNREALISTIC PHILOSOPHY THAT " SOMEONE ELSE CAN DO THE JOB" FOR EGYPT. WE HAVE ADHERED FIRMLY OVER THE LAST TWO YEARS TO THE FUNDAMENTAL NOTION THAT THERE IS ONLY ONE WAY TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM: BY NEGOTIATIONS (INDIRECT AT THE OUTSET) BETWEEN THE PARTIES. WE REMAIN INTERESTED IN PLAYING A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE, BUT CANNOT DO SO EXCEPT WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF AN ONGOING NEGOTIATION BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT IN THE FIRST INSTANCE. ANY SERIOUS EFFORT BY SC TO INSERT ITSELF INTO PEACEMAKING PROCESS WILL MAKE THE BEGINNING OF SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS LESS LIKELY-

2. EGYPT UNDOUBTEDLY SEES THE UPCOMING SC OPERATION, WITH ITS COMPOSITION LOADED IN ITS FAVOR (7 OF 15 MEMBERS DO NOT EVEN HAVE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL), AS A MEANS TO APPLY FURTHER PRESSURE ON THE US. IT IS PART OF THE SYSTEMATIC EGYPTIAN CAMPAIGN TO DEVELOP A CRISIS

ATMOSPHERE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, TO ATTRACT THE ATTENTION OF THE MAJOR POWERS AND THE US IN PARTICULAR BEFORE ANY SUMMIT BETWEEN THE US AND THE USSR THIS YEAR. EGYPTIAN OBJECTIVE LIKELY TO BE TO SEEK SC CALL, IN TERMS AS STRONG AS THEY CAN GET, ON PARTIES TO COOPERATE WITH INTENSIFIED NEW PUSH FOR PEACE SETTLEMENT IN ACCORDANCE WITH SC RES 242 AND JARRING MEMORANDUM OF FEBRUARY 8, 1971. MAIN QUESTION FOR EGYPTIANS, IN TERMS OF PRACTICAL CHOICE THAT IS LIKELY TO CONFRONT THEM, IS WHETHER TO SETTLE (A) ON ONE HAND, FOR BLAND RESOLUTION REAFFIRMING SC RES 242 AND CALLING FOR SOME NEW EFFORT BY JARRING OR SYG OR SC ON TERMS THAT LEAVE STATUS OF FEBRUARY 8 MEMO UNDETERMINED, OR (B) ON OTHER HAND, RESOLUTION THAT BENDS SC RES IN DIRECTION OF EGYPTIAN INTERPRETATION, RISKING US VETO AND IN EFFECT TERMINATING ANY CHANCE OF ISRAELI COOPERATION IN NEW DIPLOMATIC EFFORT BY JARRING
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OR SYG. GOING LATTER ROUTE COULD BE TEMPTING FOR EGYPTIANS BECAUSE IT WOULD DRAMATIZE US ISOLATION IN SUPPORT OF ISRAEL AND RAISE LEVEL OF PRESSURES ON US INTERESTS IN ARAB WORLD. HOWEVER, WE THINK THERE IS CHANCE EGYPTIANS MIGHT SETTLE FOR FORMER IF OUR ASSUMPTION IS CORRECT THAT SADAT HAS AN INTEREST IN SEEING NEW POLITICAL EFFORT SET IN MOTION THAT HE CAN POINT TO AS

ACHIEVEMENT AND THAT WILL HELP HIM BUY SOME FURTHER TIME.

3. ISRAEL'S OBJECTIVE WILL BE DIRECTED TOWARD MAINTAINING AS UNEQUIVOCALLY AS POSSIBLE US SUPPORT AND BLOCKING COUNCIL FROM LAUNCHING ANY EFFORT THAT WOULD EVADE OR SIDE-TRACK THEIR DEMAND FOR NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN PARTIES AS ONLY MEANS OF RESOLVING ISSUE. ISRAEL WILL NOT LIKE ANY PART OF COUNCIL EXERCISE, BUT IT IS RESIGNED TO IT AND MOST PROBABLY COULD IN END LIVE WITH BLAND RESOLUTION THAT REAFFIRMS SC RES 242 AND CALLS FOR NEW EXPLORATORY EFFORT BY JARRING OR SYG, REASONING THIS WOULD NOT CAUSE ANY REAL HARM TO ISRAELI INTERESTS. CRUNCH FOR ISRAEL WILL COME WITH EGYPTIAN ATTEMPT TO MAKE JARRING 1971 MEMORANDUM BASIS FOR NEW EFFORT. AS WE KNOW, AND AS SYG MENTIONED IN HIS RECENT TALK WITH AMB SCALI, ISRAELIS HAVE ALREADY TRIED TO HEAD THIS OFF BY INDICATING TO SYG THEY WILL COOPERATE WITH NEW TALKS UNDER JARRING ONLY IF JARRING AGREES TO DISASSOCIATE HIMSELF FROM THIS DOCUMENT AND UNGA RESES EMBODYING IT. ISRAELIS CAN BE EXPECTED TO MAKE INTENSIVE EFFORTS WITH US TO PREVENT ANY SC ENDORSEMENT OF JARRING MEMO OR OTHER TAMPERING WITH DELICATE BALANCE OF SC RES 242.

4. AS WE SEE OUR OBJECTIVES WITHIN BROAD FRAMEWORK OF POLICY, THEY CAN BE DESCRIBED AS FOLLOWS:

(A) WE WOULD LIKE TO LIMIT SC PROCEEDINGS SO AS NOT TO PREJUDICE ON-GOING US EFFORTS TO GET A SERIOUS NEGOTIATING PROCESS STARTED. WE CANNOT CONCEIVE OF ANY SC ACTION AT THIS TIME THAT CAN GENERALLY MAKE A POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION TO THE SITUATION. OUR PARTICULAR CONCERN IS THAT DIVERSION TO THE COUNCIL NOT LIFT PRESSURE

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FROM EGYPTIANS TO FACE UP TO A SERIOUS NEGOTIATING PROCESS. YOU SHOULD ALSO BEAR IN MIND THAT REGARDLESS OF WHAT IS BEING SAID IN THE PUBLIC DOMAIN, CAIRO STILL RECOGNIZES IMPORTANCE OF US ROLE ON P
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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** EXDIS

*** Current Classification *** SECRET

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 19 MAY 1973
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: morefirh
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973STATE091148
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: IO: LCAVANAUGH
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: RR
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: SECSTATE WASHDC
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730551/aaaajoue.tel
Line Count: 158
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: morefirh
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags: ANOMALY
Review Date: 10 OCT 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <10-Oct-2001 by elyme>; APPROVED <15-Nov-2001 by morefirh>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> gwr 980226
Subject: GUIDANCE FOR SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING ON MIDDLE
TAGS: PFOR, XF, UNSC
To: NICOSIA
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005